

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

DIA WASHDC//DI-5//

S E C R E T NICOSIA 3016

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES

RE: PARIS 21251

1. SUMMARY: A SERIOUS PROBLEM HAS ALREADY ARISEN BETWEEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH OVER GROUND RULES FOR ICRC-SPONSORED EXCHANGE OF CERTAIN GROUPS OF POWS/DETAINEES (SICK, WOUNDED, UNDER 18, OVER 50), CAUSING CLERIDES TO GRUMBLE ABOUT IMPOSSIBILITY OF ATTENDING SCHEDULED SEPT 11 MEETING. CLERIDES IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT MAKARIOS' NEW ACTIVISM AND GOGREECE LENDING ITSELF TO THIS. HE HAS COMPLAINED STRONGLY TO KARAMANLIS. HE THINKS MAKARIOS HAS EVERY INTENTION OF GOING TO UNGA, WITH FORMER FONMIN KYPRIANOU, AND WILL USE CONNECTIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED IN A MANNER DISRUPTIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS HERE. END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES SEPT 10. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER AN ISSUE ALREADY RAISED WITH US BY UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN AND GREEK AMB. AT SEPT 6 MEETING, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH AGREED

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IN PRINCIPLE TO EXCHANGES UNDER ICRC AUSPICES OF DETAINEES AND POWS

WHO EITHER (A) SICH AND WOUNDED, OR (B) UNDER 18 OR OVER 50. SINCE SEPT 6 MEETING, ICRC CHIEF OF MISSION MARTI HAS RUN INTO A SERIOUS SNAG IN HIS SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS OF MODALITIES WITH CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. DENKTASH HAS BLANDLY PUSHED WITH MARTI A SUGGESTION THAT ICRC ASK A PROSPECTIVE EXCHANGEES WHERE HE/SHE WISHED BE RETURNED. CLERIDES HAS SHARPLY REJECTED THIS SAYING THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD BE UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM TURKISH AUTHORITIES TO OPT FOR TRANSFER TO ZONE OF TURKISH CONTROL. TURKS, CLERIDES BELIEVES, WOULD THEN PRESS FOR NORTHWARD REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND WOULD IN THE PROCESS ADD BETWEEN 8,000 AND 10,000 TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO THEIR ZONE.

3. IN MENTIONING THIS TO ME, CLERIDES SAID HE COULD NOT POSSIBLY AGREE TO ICRC RETURNING EXCHANGEES ANYWHERE EXCEPT TO THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES OR PRESENT FAMILY LOCATION IF DISPLACED AS RESULT OF HOSTILITIES. I OFFERED A PERSONAL THOUGHT THAT ICRC ASK INDIVIDUAL EXCHANGEES' WISHES, WEIGHTING THE SCALES HEAVILY IN FAVOR OF RETURN TO ORIGINAL HOMES BY SAYING (TO TURKISH CYPRIOT POWS AND DETAINEES) THAT IF THEIR OPTION WAS TO MOVE TO TURKISH ZONE, ICRC COULD MAKE NO ASSURANCES OF EARLY RELEASE SINCE THIS INVOLVED AN UNRESOLVED POLITICAL PROBLEM. THIS WOULD NOT PRODUCE THE FEARED TURKISH MIGRATION NORTH SINCE MOST WOULD PREFER GO HOME OR REJOIN DISLOCATED FAMILIES IN SOUTH RATHER THAN REMAIN UNDER DETENTION. CLERIDES SHOWED SOME INTEREST AND SAID HE WOULD THINK IT OVER.

4. NOTING THAT GREEK AMB HAD EARLIER TODAY SUGGESTED US TRY THROUGH ANKARA TO BRING ABOUT A SHIFT IN DENKTASH' POSITION, I SAID I WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE US INVOLVED EVERY TIME CLERIDES AND DENKTASH HIT A SNAG. THIS WAS THE TASK OF THE NEGOTIATORS WITH ASSISTANCE OF WECKMANN AND AS NECESSARY WALDHEIM. I THOUGHT THAT POSITION OF MY GOVT WOULD BE TO APPLY OUR PERSUASION ONLY WHEN GENERAL OUTLINES OF A SOLUTION HAD BEEN HAMMERED OUT AND THE GAP, IF ANY, REMAINING TO BE BRIDGED HAD BEEN DEFINED. CLERIDES AGREED.

5. I RAISED WHAT TO US HERE SEEMS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF MAKARIOS' ACTIVITIES AND THREAT THAT HIS PRESENCE AT UNGA MIGHT RESULT IN INITIATIVES AND/OR RESOLUTIONS UNDERCUTTING CLERIDES AND RUNNING AT CROSS-PURPOSES TO THE COMMENDABLE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY IN NICOSIA. I ALSO WONDERED ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH CLERIDES

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STILL CONFIDENT THAT HE HAD KARAMANLIS AND GOGREECE WITH HIM, IN VIEW LARGE MEASURE OF SUPPORT GIVEN MAKARIOS BY MAVROS IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS THIS PAST WEEKEND IN GENEVA.

6. CLERIDES REPLIED THAT HE HAD SENT PERSONAL MESSAGE AT NOON TO KARAMANLIS THROUGH GREEK AMB DOUNTAS ASKING WHY GOGREECE HAD SO MUCH LENT ITSELF TO MAKARIOS' MACHINATIONS. HIS MESSAGE HAD CITED PROBLEMS THIS WOULD CREATE FOR CLERIDES' POSITION AND THE NICOSIA

NEGOTIATIONS WHEN, AS HE INTENDED, MAKARIOS TRANSFERRED HIS ACTIVITIES TO UNGA. CLERIDES THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR USG TO ASK GREECE DIRECTLY ABOUT IMPLICATIONS OF THIS KIND OF SUPPORT FOR MAKARIOS. HE THOUGHT A CAUSAL FACTOR MIGHT BE POLITICS BETWEEN KARAMANLIS AND MAVROS.

7. CLERIDES NOTED THAT MAKARIOS WILL BE TAKING FORMER FONMIN KYPRIANOU WITH HIM TO NEW YORK. HE FELT, AND I ENTIRELY AGREE, THAT THIS WILL BE AN ADDITIONAL NEGATIVE. COMMENT: KYPRIANOU IS FAMOUS FOR HIS LACK OF FLEXIBILITY WHICH REINFORCES SAME TRAIT IN ARCHBISHOP; AND THEY SHARE PENCHANT FOR PLAYING UP TO THE NON-ALIGNED GAME. END COMMENT.

8. PARENTHETICALLY, CLERIDES SAID MAVROS HAD BEEN VERY INSISTENT THAT HE APPOINT KYPRIANOU RATHER THAN CHRISTOPHIDES AS CURRENT FONMIN, CITING KYPRIANOU'S RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED AS AN IMPORTANT ASSET TO CYPRUS IN CURRENT SITUATION. CLERIDES HAD FLATLY REFUSED, TELLING MAVROS THAT NEITHER NON-ALIGNED NOR MOSCOW COULD BE HELPFUL IN SOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

9. CONTINUING DISCUSSION OF WHAT MAKARIOS INTENDED IN NEW YORK, I SAID IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR USG TO DEVELOP WITH FRIENDS A STRATEGY TO ENSURE THAT ANY UNGA ACTION WAS SUPPORTIVE OF NICOSIA TALKS RATHER THAN THE REVERSE. CLERIDES AGREED ENTIRELY, SAYING THAT PERHAPS BEST WAY OF DOING THIS WOULD BE TO GET SOME KEY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO SPEAK TO MAKARIOS ABOUT WHAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT, SUCH AS A CONGLOMERATE OF EARLIER SC RESOLUTIONS, AND WHAT THEY WOULD NOT, I.E. ANYTHING UNDERMINING THE NICOSIA NEGOTIATIONS.

10. HAVING IN MIND MAVROS' SEPT 5-6 TALKS IN PARIS (PARIS 21251), BUT NOT MENTIONING ANY SOURCE, I ASKED CLERIDES IF HIS UNDERSTANDING OF GOGREECE POSITION COINCIDED WITH OURS, I.E. THAT GREECE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE TWO GOODWILL GESTURES FROM TURKEY TO ENABLE IT

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REENTER FULL SCALE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS: (A) RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES TO FAMAGUSTA AND (B) SOME SYMBOLIC RETREAT OF TURKISH FORCES FROM CURRENT LINES. IN TERMS OF A FINAL SOLUTION, WERE WE CORRECT IN BELIEVING GOG WANTED: (A) DIVISION OF TERRITORY COMMENSURATE WITH POPULATION PERCENTAGES; (B) NO POPULATION TRANSFERS; AND (C) A FEDERAL GOVT CONTROLLING FON AFFAIRS, DEFENSE, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND IMMIGRATION? THINKING BACK, CLERIDES SAID THIS WAS ESSENTIALLY THE GREEK POSITION AS PUT TO HIM IN ATHENS.

11. WE DISCUSSED THESE PROPOSITIONS BRIEFLY. WE WERE BOTH SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL THAT TURKS COULD BE BARGAINED DOWN TO A DIVISION OF TERRITORY COMMENSURATE WITH POPULATION PERCENTAGE. WE WENT NO FURTHER. I NOTED THAT NO POPULATION TRANSFERS WAS A GOOD POSITION IN PRINCIPLE AND WE IN NICOSIA HAD BEEN ARGUING AGAINST AN ETHNIC SEPARATION, BUT A SUBSTANTIAL TRANSFER HAD ALREADY TAKEN

PLACE AND THIS SEEMED TO BE A DE FACTO TURKISH OBJECTIVE.
HEPEFULLY, IN NEGOTIATION, THERE WOULD PROVE TO BE MORE TURKISH
FLEXIBILITY THAN WAS NOW APPARENT. CRAWFORD

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